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THE ITALIANS IN TUNISIA
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THEIR POLITICAL USEFULNESS FOR THE PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE OF THE UNITED NATIONS

8 May 1943

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PART I

THE CHARACTER OF THE ITALIAN POPULATION

A. Introductory Remarks

The total population of the French protectorate of Tunisia, according to the latest French census (1936), is 2,608,313. The overwhelming majority is made up of non-European natives (2,395,108), while a rather small minority is made up of Europeans, 213,205 in all, namely, 108,068 French, 94,289 Italians, and 10,848 other Europeans.

The Italians have disputed the accuracy of the French figures regarding the Italian population. They claim that there are about 120 or 130,000 Italians in Tunisia. The difference between the French and Italian estimates is due to many factors, principally the French criterion according to which Italian colonists as well as other colonists and natives of non-French stock who have become naturalized Frenchmen are regarded as Frenchmen. According to the Italian criterion, however, the Italian community embraces not only the Italian colonists and their descendants who have retained their Italian citizenship but also the Italian colonists and their descendants who have become French citizens. In the years 1891-1938, 17,072 Italians became naturalized Frenchmen, and their descendants, whose number cannot be calculated with precision, are also legally French.

Whatever criterion is followed, it is certain that the Italians outnumbered the French in Tunisia until the 1930's when the French achieved a paper majority because of the considerable number of persons who became naturalized Frenchmen, as is illustrated by the following table:

Year	French	Italians
1881	700	11,200
1891	9,973	21,016
1896	16,207	55,572
1901	24,201	71,600
1906	34,610	81,156
1911	46,044	88,082
1921	54,476	84,799
1926	71,020	89,216
1931	91,427	91,178
936	108,068	94,289

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B. Outstanding Characteristics

1. The Italians constitute the oldest European colony in Tunisia and regard themselves as European pioneers in that area. This may explain much of the Italian resentment against French domination. Italians claim that, since they have furnished the bulk of European man-power used in the development of Tunisia, they are the real European builders of the country, while the French, despite their advantages, have not been able to establish a French peasantry in the rural districts or a French laboring class in the cities. The Italian claim makes plausible the description of Tunisia as "an Italian colony administered by French functionaries."

2. Except for the Jews from Italy, the Italians constitute a homogeneous ethnic group, while the French population is quite heterogeneous, as shown by the fact that Tunisian-born French citizens include naturalized non-Italian Jews, Maltese, and Greeks. Some observers assert that about 30% of the French citizens in Tunisia are of non-French stock.

The Italian population has to this day retained a strong spirit of Italian nationalism. Even before the advent of Fascism, both Italian and French observers bore witness to the intensely national character of the Tunisian Italians. Not only have the Tunisian Italians lived as in Italy, not only have they clung to the language and social organization they have known, but they have been enthusiastically patriotic. Even the overwhelming majority of those Italians who for one reason or another have become naturalized Frenchmen have probably remained ethnically Italian. Under the pressure of the Fascist regime in Italy, the patriotic attitude of the Tunisian Italians was stimulated further, and though some of them combatted Fascist influences, they did not cease to be patriotic Italians.

The Tunisian Italians have participated in four wars involving Italy. About 15,000 fought in the World War. Fascists claim that 1,500 Tunisian Italians were volunteers in the Ethiopian War and that a number of Tunisian Italians were also volunteers in the Spanish Civil War. During the Ethiopian War, the Tunisian Italians, despite their reputed poverty, contributed 3,000,000 lire ($160,000) and 20,000 gold rings to Mussolini's war effort.

As for the present war, the Fascists contend that the Italian authorities in Tunisia and the Tunisian Italians have aided the Axis effort in several ways:

In December 1942, the Italian government notified the Tunisian Italians to report for military service, partly, it was alleged, to satisfy the desire of many of them to serve their fatherland.

In January 1943, it was said that "thousands" of Tunisian Italians had volunteered in the Italian army and that Italian doctors, students, storekeepers, and workers were succoring or befriending Italian and German troops.

In March 1943, the Italian government gave the Bey of Tunis 50,000 francs for the victims of the enemy bombardment of the "holy" city of Kairouan; and Italian students in Tunis participated in ARP work against the "American bombardment" of the civilian population of Tunis.

In the same month, the Fascist daily of Tunis, L'Unione (see pages 35-37), opened a relief fund for the Italian victims of enemy bombardment. In three days, more than 200,000 francs were subscribed to this fund, and 100,000 additional francs were contributed by the Fascist Party of Italy.

3. The overwhelming majority of the Tunisian Italians are Sicilians who have retained the psychological attitudes of Sicilians: the spirit of omertà; a certain distrust of government in general, in this case the French government; strong family feeling; industry and thrift; inclination to violence in individual quarrels; pride in their native island of Sicily, and also in Italy as a whole, accentuated by their rivalry with the French.

Full statistics on the origins of the Tunisian Italians are not available, but the following information is sufficient to indicate the predominantly Sicilian origin of the Tunisian Italians:

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Place of Birth of Foreign Born Italians in 1906 and 1911

	Census of 1906	Census of 1911
Sicily	45,049	41,155
Sardinia	2,927	4,032
Neapolitan Provinces	1,370	1,141
Tuscany	1,334	937
Piedmont, Liguria	581	548
Lombardy	385	286
Provinces of Rome	256	269
Umbria	119	164
Venetia	92	92
Emilia	91	133
Marches	46	52
Non-designated	429	230
	52,679	49,039
Total Italian population	81,156	88,082

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Place of birth of Italian born Tunisian Italians in 1931

Sicily	29,735
Sardinia	2,979
Tuscany	609
Neapolitan Provinces	530
Piedmont and Liguria	472
Marches	295
Lombardy	248
Venetia	230
Roman Provinces	227
Emilia	122
Umbria	29
	37,797

4. The Italians stand lower than the French but higher than the natives in the political, economic, social and cultural **scale** of Tunisian life. The French have found the Italians useful, especially from an economic point of view. While the Frenchman has usually been a "gentleman", a bourgeois and an employer of labor, the Italian has usually been a workman and an employee. Although the French do not despise the Italians, as some observers would have it, they do not regard them as equals. The natives, made up mostly of Arabs, look down on the Italian settlers, chiefly because the natives and the Italians are in many instances economic competitors, though in this connection, it should be observed that the Fascist policy of "protecting" the Arabs has enhanced the place of Italians in the eyes of the natives. There is a sharp conflict of opinion as to whether the natives prefer the French to the Italians. It seems safe to say that the natives would prefer French to Italian rule.

C. Geographical Distribution

On this subject, the French statistics, though imperfect, are the best available. These statistics show that the Italians, though nowhere a majority of the whole population, outnumber the French in several important areas. (1) In the administrative district of Tunis, which extends for a radius of some 25 miles around the city, there are 67,125 Italians to 59,373 French. In the city of Tunis itself, the Italians make up 22.7 percent of the total population (49,878 Italians to 42,678 French and 127,022 natives and others). The Italians also constitute a majority in the important suburb of La Goulette (3,801 Italians to 2,713 French and 10,862 natives). They are numerous at Le Kram, at Carthage, and as far northward as La Marsa. (2) Italians outnumber the French in the important agricultural and transportation center of Mateur, southwest of Bizerte (1,169 Italians to 898 Frenchmen and 7,416 natives). (3) There is a strong Italian majority in the wine-producing region of Grombalia (Cape Bon), where there are 3,859 Italians to 1,938 Frenchmen and 136,954 natives. Many of the villages in this region have an exclusively Italian character.

A striking fact is that 52.9 percent of the Tunisian Italians (49,878 persons) live in the city of Tunis, while another 18.3 percent (17,247 persons) live elsewhere in the Tunis area. Of the remaining 28.8 percent, more than two-thirds (18,420 persons) are located in the coastal districts of Bizerte, Grombalia, Sousse, Sfax, and Gabes, while a paltry 8,744 persons (9.3 percent of the total) are scattered over the agricultural regions of the interior and the oases and mining districts of the far south and southwest.

Seventy-two percent of the Italians are urban, living in towns of 5,000 or more; 61.9 percent of them live in the four large towns of Tunis, Sfax, Sousse, and Bizerte. In the coastal area which includes these cities, only 23 percent of the population is rural, most of it being concentrated in the Cape Bon region (3,675 rural out of a total of 3,859 Italians). The rural element predominates in the interior of Tunisia, with 6,746 out of a total of 8,744 Italians; here the only important urban concentration is that of Beja, with 1,085 Italians.

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Population by Administrative Districts (1936)

	Italian	French	European	Total
Tunis	67,125	59,373	134,054	350,529
Bizerte	7,787	17,254	25,583	172,314
Grombalia	3,859	1,938	5,902	142,856
Sousse	3,858	6,608	11,006	338,188
Sfax	2,633	5,640	9,110	234,585
Le Kef	2,453	1,919	4,478	141,358
Beja	1,360	1,394	2,829	81,065
Zaghouan	1,414	1,716	3,205	48,443
Souk-el-Arba	916	1,505	2,476	96,732
Gafsa	811	2,165	3,058	133,624
Medjez-el-Bab	585	1,812	2,462	54,040
Kairouan	310	1,088	1,507	170,757
Teboursouk	295	1,173	1,615	41,738
Gabes	283	1,382	1,860	77,563
Tabarka	269	961	1,238	42,182
Thala	160	584	777	121,977
Djerba	58	516	780	52,007
Military Territory	55	595	755	193,120
Maktar	53	266	324	69,278
Tozeur	5	78	186	45,962
	94,289	108,068	213,205	2,608,313

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Town Population (1936)

	Italian	French	Native	Total
Tunis	49,878	42,678	120,701	219,578
Sfax	2,610	5,224	34,672	43,333
Sousse	2,882	5,332	19,820	28,465
Bizerte	2,980	8,054	17,211	28,468
La Goulette	3,801	2,713	4,011	10,862
Ferryville	1,198	4,604	466	6,330
Mateur	1,169	398	5,792	7,416
Beja	1,085	796	11,360	13,292
Le Kef	641	694	7,498	8,855
Ariana	383	584	4,451	5,530
La Marsa	298	524	4,785	5,669
Gabes	280	1,292	16,854	18,611
Mahdia	231	265	7,977	8,488
Kairouan	171	615	22,128	22,991
Nabeul	168	432	8,489	9,107
Gafsa	87	650	10,506	11,266
Monastir	81	192	10,236	10,572
Djenmal	21	50	8,160	8,232
Mokmine	14	57	14,128	14,205
Menzel-Temim	14	43	7,775	8,532
Zarzis	9	107	7,484	7,641
Tozeur	5	104	11,586	11,698
Menzel-bou Zelfa	2	18	5,296	5,318

D. Occupational Structure

The majority of the Tunisian Italians are manual workers and artisans; a relatively small number is made up of peasant farmers; and a still smaller number belong to the commercial and professional bourgeoisie. The following table, based on the French census of 1936, shows the occupational structure of the Tunisian Italians.

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Occupation	Number	Percent	
Agriculture			
Proprietors	2,380	2.5	
Laborers	1,518	1.6	
Families	10,758	11.4	
total	14,656		15.5
Commerce			
Owners	1,590	1.6	
Employees	2,339	2.4	
Families	8,088	8.5	
total	12,017		12.7
Industry			
Employers	1,145	1.2	
Laborers	13,772	14.6	
Families	33,635	35.6	
total	48,552		51.4
Transportation			
Owners	477	0.5	
Employees	1,117	1.1	
Families	3,342	3.5	
total	4,936		5.2
Liberal Professions			
number	1,154	1.2	
families	1,727	1.8	
total	2,881		3.0
Government Service			
number	150	0.1	
families	391	0.4	
total	541		0.5
Rentiers	1,033		1.0
Unclassified	9,673		10.2

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Agriculture claims only 15.5 percent (some 14,656 persons) of the Italian population. Only a small fraction (2.5 per cent) are agricultural proprietors, and these own about 80,000 hectares of land, or about one tenth of the land held by the French. Although there are a few wealthy Italian landowners, most of the holdings are small farms of 4 or 5 hectares. The Italian farmers are concentrated in the wine growing area, and they have been quite successful in developing vineyards. They have been able to purchase land by means of the enzel contracts (payment over a period of years), and by credit supplied by the *Banca Italiana di Credito* and the *Istituto Nazionale di Credito per il Lavoro Italiano all'Estero*. This class of Italian landholders has been extremely resistant to French pressure for naturalization. Of the 269 Italians naturalized in 1925, only 5 were agricultural proprietors.

¶ The group classified as engaged in commerce includes merchants and tradesmen, bankers, insurance agents, and all those in stores or shops except industrial establishments. The Italian colony has always had an economic life of its own, patronizing Italian business men whenever possible. Two banks, *La Banque Italo-française de Credit* and the *Banca Italiana di Credito*, control the financial affairs of the colony and cooperate closely with the Italian government. The nucleus of the Italian bourgeoisie has been the Italian Chamber of Commerce, Agriculture and Arts. (See pages 30-32).

Industry is the greatest single category of employment of Italians, supporting slightly more than half the population. This includes any sort of manufacture by machine or by hand, fisheries, mining, and construction of public works. There are some 1,145 employers, large and small. For the most part, however, this group in industry constitutes the mass of the European labor force, masons, carpenters, wheelrights, mechanics, cabinet makers, leatherworkers. This class of skilled or semi-skilled urban workers is by far the largest element in the Italian population.

There are many Italian fishermen at La Goulette, Bizerte, Sousse, Sfax, and the smaller ports. In 1927, there were 763 Italian-owned fishing boats with crews of 3,188 men. In the same year the French owned 84 boats with crews of 391. Most of the fishing, however, is in the hands of natives who owned 2,931 boats and employed 10,630 men.

The category "transportation"/ includes owners and workers of maritime companies, railways, express and freight companies, and auto transportation. Only a small fraction of the Italian population is engaged in such work, which is largely under French control.

The Italian colony has its own professional class. In 1933 there were 140 Italian physicians (as compared to 132 French), and 64 Italian pharmacists (as compared to 39 Frenchmen). As a French law degree was necessary for the practice of law, there were only 20 Italian lawyers, practically all of them Jewish. Other elements in the professional group include clergymen, artists, dentists, and various sorts of agents. The 150 Italians in "government service" were employed by the Italian government.

The general type of work of Italians originating from various parts of Italy is indicated somewhat by the following table:

Emigrants from	Type of work
Sicily	Great majority are manual laborers, with small number in agricultural and white-collar occupations
Sardinia	Mining

Pantelleria	Viticulture
Livorno (mostly Jews)	Commerce and professions

Except for a hundred or so entrepreneurs, mine operators, large proprietors, and physicians, the Tunisian Italians are by no means wealthy. They are, generally speaking, poor. Yet, they are, on the whole, enjoying a higher standard of living than they could have enjoyed, had they remained in Italy.

E. Institutions and Organizations

Long before the advent of Fascism in Italy in 1922, there was a considerable number of Italian institutions and organizations intended to bind the Italians of Tunisia to their mother country. About 1927, before the Italian Fascists gained control of the Italian colony in Tunisia, there were in Tunisia 38 Italian organizations with a membership of 7,771. 25 of these organizations were mutual aid societies with about 4,500 members, while the others were educational, cultural, commercial and recreational societies.

It is difficult to estimate the strength of the Fascist movement in Tunisia. It was stated in March 1941 that, according to the French Administration in Tunisia, about 20,000 Tunisian Italians were active Fascists, of whom some five to six thousand were party organizers. Whether or not these figures are accurate, it is certain that the Fascists have been far more influential than the anti-Fascists and that they have effectively exploited most of the Italian institutions and organizations in Tunisia. Even the anti-Fascists, though bitterly combatting the Fascists, have contributed to the maintenance of Italian, as distinguished from Fascist, nationalism among the Tunisian Italians.

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Among the Italian or Fascist institutions and organizations in Tunisia are the following:

1. Consulates and other Diplomatic Agencies.

The Italian consulates in Tunisia have been the real centers of Italian and Fascist propaganda among the Tunisian Italians. After the occupation of Tunisia by the Axis, the Fascist government established a special diplomatic representation in Tunisia which is now (March 1943) headed by Minister Enrico Bompieri.

Ahother important Fascist "diplomatic" agency in Tunisia has been the Italian Armistice Commission which was established in Tunisia after the fall of France in June 1940. The composition of the Commission is, of course, Fascist.

Some Members of the Italian Armistice Commission, April 1942. (excluding the Navy Commission)

Aviation

Colonel Ribella, commanding the Armistice Delegation for Aviation in Tunisia. Formerly a republican, vaguely of left tendency, but hostile to socialism. Known for his publications. A friend of Italo Balbo.

Captain Ballerini	Violent Fascist.
Capt. Frioli	At time of "March on Rome", took active part in Fascist movement in his part of Italy.

(Names ~~and~~ of several members lacking.)

Army

Gen. Leone Santini,	commanding the Armistice Delegation of Land Forces. A moderating element, said to be the "hope" of a "reasonable" Fascism, and a soldier of great worth.
Col. Ermano Bottero	Violent Fascist.
Col. Negra	Formed part of the Fascist Squadre d' Azione. 100 percent Fascist. Always ready for a fight.
Maj. Ottavio Diaz	
Maj. Celestino Penna	
Capt. Luciani	
Capt. Corti	
Maj. Giorgele	Administration Officer.

Civil Section (Tunis)

Consul General Comm. Giacomo Silimbani,

President of the Civil Armistice Commission. His authority unlimited. Cultured; gifted with a political scent. Violent Fascist, blind follower.

Vice Consul Cesare Regard,
Likes good food, good humor, music, women. Reserved; flattering. Executes orders meticulously.

Vice Consul Federico De Belgrade (At Bizerte)
Intelligent.

Vice Consul Rocchi (At Sousse).
Violent Fascist.

Vice Consul Bifulco. Officially at Sousse but actually divided his time between Sousse and Tunis. Had been in Tunisia one or two months. Had come from Washington, Speaks English with ease; likes American friendships, has written a book on American industry. A gentleman, interesting.

Chancellor Gaetano Tedeschi
In tunis many years. Had done much for Fascist propaganda in Tunisia.

Chancellor Umberto Rossi - Government employee in Rome before the war. A Fascist who apparently would not fight if the party met with reverses.

Giovanni Wian -- Press and Information. Had lived in Egypt, whence expelled. Influential Fascist propagandist in Tunisia.

Apulio Turetta -- Immigration Secretary. ¶ Remainder of the personnel working at the consulate under the control of the above were not part of the Italian Armistice Commission.

2. Schools and Other Cultural Organizations.

The Italian schools in Tunisia are among the most important agencies of Italian nationalism in Tunisia.

The first Italian school was established as early as 1821.

There are 40 Italian schools; 20 government schools, maintained by the Italian government; and 20 private schools, several of which are maintained or subsidized by the Dante Alighieri Society. The government schools include a scientific lyceum, a technical institute, a school for pre-professional students, and 17 elementary schools. The government or private elementary schools are located at Tunis, La Goulette, Sfax, Sousse, Mahdia, El Kef, Reyville, Bu Fiscia, Ferryville, Nabeul, Kelibia. According to a Fascist estimate, the enrollment in the Italian schools rose from 3,000 in 1896 to about 15,000 in 1938.

Although statistics are not available, note should be taken of the instruction and use of the Italian language in Italian orphanages, foundling homes, and churches.

The Fascist authorities have given Italian students special inducements to attend Italian schools and to visit Italy. Pupils in the remoter districts of Tunisia are picked up in motor cars, receive uniforms, and are fed in special canteens. In the years immediately preceding the outbreak of war, an annual contingent of about 2,000 Italian school children from Tunisia were sent on a vacation trip to Rome where they were signalled out for attention by high Fascist officials.

Italian nationalist influence among the Tunisian Italians has been promoted by such Fascist "cultural" organizations as the Dante Alighieri Society, the *Opera Nazionale Dopolavoro* (the "Leisure After Work" organization), and the *Organizzazioni Giovani Italiani all'Estero* (a Fascist youth organization). All these organizations have done important work in Tunisia.

The Organizzazioni Giovani Italiani all' Estero (O.G.I.E.) is a para-military formation under the direction of Professor Canepa who was (1937) attached to the Italian consulate. The O.G.I.E. is chiefly concerned with the physical and pre-military training of the youth. They are enrolled by the Italian teachers who are at the same time reserve officers in the Italian army. Certain selected candidates were sent to Rome for special courses during the vacation periods.

The Dante Alighieri Society (Società Dante Alighieri), founded in Italy in 1889 for the purpose of diffusing Italian culture outside of Italy, has been a powerful Fascist influence among the Tunisian Italians, maintaining schools and libraries and organizing lectures, concerts, and exhibitions. It has been the leading Italian cultural organization in Tunisia, with committees (branches) at Tunis, Bizerte, Sousse, Sfax, and Le Kef. The principal branch is at Tunis, with headquarters at Rue Thiers, and with a circulating library of about 20,000 volumes.

The Opera Nazionale Dopolavoro (OND), through its 37 branches in Tunisia, has promoted sports as well as artistic and cultural activities among its 15,000 or so members. Its President in Tunis, Ubaldo Rey, was reported (December 25, 1938) to have received a sentence of fine and imprisonment for responsibility in anti-French disturbances.

3. Religious Institutions

It is safe to assume that, except for the Italian Jews, almost all the Tunisian Italians are Roman Catholics.

The extent to which the Catholic Church has been politically-minded is not easy to determine, but there can be no doubt that it has helped maintain the solidity of a "little Italy" in Tunisia through its churches, its missions, its schools, and charitable institutions.

The Italian clergymen in Tunisia are doubtless patriotic Italians and many of them are doubtless pro-Fascist.

An important Italian religious center is the Chiesa di San Giuseppe (St. Joseph's Church) in Rue de Serbie, Tunis.

The Italian clergy is closely identified with the maintenance or work of orphanages and with the diffusion of the Italian language through schools and the use of Italian in religious services. For example, the "Margherita di Savoia" Girls Orphanage in Tunis, founded in 1879 by Sister Guiseppina Civalieri, has an Italian language school, which has been partly subsidized by the Italian Government and which has been connected with the National (Italian) Association of Franciscan Missionaries. This Association was founded in Italy in order to aid Italian missionaries and to promote, under their direction, the establishment of religious institutions and the diffusion of the Italian language in Africa and other parts of the world.

4. Banks

The following Italian banks in Tunisia have fostered Fascist influence among the Tunisian Italians: (1) Banque Italo-Francaise de Credit; (2) Banca Italiana di Credito.

5. The Italian Chamber of Commerce.

The powerful Camera di Commercio, Agricoltura ed Arti di Tunisi, which was founded in 1884, had over 800 members in 1939. Its policy has been conspicuously Fascist and it may be safely assumed that its members are Fascists.

Its Directing Council was (about March 1, 1939)--

~~except as otherwise indicated):~~

Honorary President: Comm. Dott. Giacomo Silimbani, Italian Consul General. Born in Imola (Bologna), October 2, 1894, his parents being Achille and Ginevra Facchini. Wounded in World War I; decorated. See pages 24-25.

President: Engineer Edoardo De Matteis.

Vice President: Engineer Angelo Luisada.

Treasurer: Marcello Tedeschi.

Councilors: Giorgio Boccara - Giuseppe Canino - Cav. Vincenzo Cucciardi - Dott. Carlo Escano - Engineer Riccardo Faldini - G. Battista Franco - Pietrangelo Grimaldi - Augusto Ramella - Comm. Antonio Schiano - Cav. Umberto Uzan - Prof. Giacomo Lopez.

Secretary General: Dott. Giacomo Vaccari.

Its correspondents were:

Place:	Member:
Beja	Giuseppe Provenzano
Biserta	Cav. Michele Palermo
Bou-Arkoub	Salvatore Lo Sardo
Goletta	Luigi Semprini
Kef	Prof. Giuseppe Bertini
Nabeul	Isacco Mamo
Sfax	Cav. Uff. Nissim Saada

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Place:	Member:
Susa	Dott. Carlo Tavola
Grombalia	Francesco Bertoli

6. Welfare and Recreational Societies

There is a considerable number of these, all of them with a patriotic, if not Fascist, purpose. In addition to societies already mentioned, these include mutual aid organizations (in 1927, there were 25 of them with about 4500 members orphanages, day nurseries, hospitals, sports and musical organizations, such as the following:

Orphanages, Day Nurseries, Hospitals

"Principe di Piemonte" Boys Orphanage at Tunis (founded in 1915)

"Margherita di Savoia" Girls Orphanage at Tunis (founded in 1879, connected with Italian Catholic missionaries)

"Tracomatosi" Girls Orphanage at Tunis (founded in 1918)

"Principe di Piemonte" Orphanage at Ariana (founded in 1916)

"Fortunata Morana" Day Nursery at Tunis (founded in 1915)

"Giuseppe Garibaldi" Hospital at Tunis (founded in 1889; 260 beds)

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Mutual Aid Societies

Tunis

Società Italiana di Beneficenza (founded in 1889)

Patronato degli Emigranti (founded in 1904)

Comitato Coloniale (founded in 1920)

Sezione dell'Unione Magistrale Nazionale (founded in 1902)

Delegazione della Croce Rossa Italiana (founded in 1917)

Sezione della Federazione Nazionale Insegnanti Medi

Unione Femminile Italiana per la Beneficenza (founded in 1915)

Società Patriottica Italiana di Mutuo Soccorso (founded in 1891)

Bizerte

Società Italiana di Beneficenza (founded in 1902)

Ferryville

Società Italiana di Beneficenza (founded in 1920)

Società Italiana di Mutuo Soccorso (founded in 1902)

Sfax

Società Italiana di Beneficenza (founded in 1900)

Società Operaia Italiana di Mutuo Soccorso (founded in 1908)

SECRET

Sousse

Società Italiana di Beneficenza (founded in 1917)

Unione Patriottica Italiana (founded in 1893)

Patronato Scolastico (founded in 1919)

Gabes

Società Operaia Italiana di Mutuo Soccorso (founded in 1893)

Mehdia

Società Operaia Italiana di Mutuo Soccorso (founded in 1908)

Sports Societies

Tunis

Corpo Nazionale dei Giovani Esploratori Italiani (founded in 1920)

Società Ginnastica Italiana (founded in 1895)

Federazione Italiana di Scherma

Sousse

Società Ginnastica "Savoia" (founded in 1921)

Musical Societies

Società Musicale "La Lira Garibaldina" (founded in 1908)

7. Veterans' Organizations

The organizations consisting of veterans of the First World War have been of primary importance as media of Fascist propaganda:

1. Federazione dei Combattenti (Veterans' Federation), embracing about 8,000 members of local veterans' organizations;

2. Associazione Mutilati e Invalidi di Guerra (Disabled Veterans);

3. Ufficiali inCongedo (Reserve Officers);

4. Sottoufficiali inCongedo (Reserve N.C.O.(s);

5. Famiglie dei Caduti in Guerra (Families of the Fallen in ~~the~~ War);

6. Nastro Azzurro (Blue Ribbon, includex certain categories of decorated men)

7. Volontari di Guerra (War Volunteers)

8. Press

Before the war, the Italian press in Tunisia, the history of which dates from 1838, consisted of 2 dailies, 7 weeklies, 1 fortnightly, 3 monthlies, and 1 publication issued at irregular intervals. The only anti-Fascist daily and the only anti-Fascist weekly have been suppressed.

Dailies

Il Giornale - Anti-Fascist. Address: 13 Rue Souk-Ahras, Tunis (See pages 39-40)

L'Unione - Fascist. Founded in 1886. Address 3 Rue de Turquie, Tunis

Weeklies

L'Africano - Fascist political-literary review. Edited by Giannetto Bua. Address: 4 Rue de Russie, Tunis.

Coccodè	Fascist satirical review. Edited by Giuseppe Panciroli. Address: 4 Rue de Russie, Tunis.
L'Italiano di Tunisi	Anti-Fascist. Address: 3 Rue de Lorraine, Tunis. See pages 39-40.
Lavoratore Italiano di Tunisia	Fascist. Edited by Francesco Iovinelli. Address: 41 Avenue de Londres, Tunis.
Il Pungolo	Exponent of Italian interests
Simpaticuni	Political - Literary -Humorous (uses Sicilian dialect). Address: 5 Rue de Russie, Tunis
Trieste	Illustrated

Fortnightly

Italiani di Tunisia	Fascist. Connected with L'Unione. Edited by Giovanni Battista Cerchiai. Address: 3 Rue de Turquie, Tunis.

Monthlies

Bollettino Mensile della Camera di Commercio	Organ of Italian Chamber of Commerce. Edited by Chamber's Secretary, Dr. Giacomo Vaccari. Address: 72 Avenue Jules Ferry, Tunis.
Il Ghibli	Fascist Organ for diffusion of Italian culture. Founded and Edited by Dr. Mario Gioia.

Pagine Mediterranee

Probably Fascist. Edited
by Dr. Paolo Mix. Address:
18 Rue Thiers, Tunis.

Published Irregularly

La Guida Italiana

Organ for protection of
Italian interests in North
Africa.

The most powerful Italian daily in Tunisia, L'Unione, has been conspicuous for its Fascist policy, particularly under the editorship of Enrico Santamaria, a violent polemical writer, who has been called the Tunisian Henlein. He is reported to have said that the "Unione is more than just a paper. It is a Bible. For the Tunisian Italians, most of whom are illiterate, the Unione is as the word of the Gospel. Tomorrow, we need only give the word and all of them will follow us as one man." On August 3, 1939, it was reported that L'Unione was to be prosecuted for violating a decree relating to the disclosure of military information; but it does not appear that any action was taken. Among Santamaria's assistants have been Giannetto Bua, managing editor, and M. A. Soria, manager.

9. Radio

The Fascists in Italy have made extensive and effective use of the radio in stirring the Italian nationalism of the Tunisian Italians. The anti-Fascists have bitterly complained that the French authorities had done little or nothing to prevent the radio diffusion of Fascist propaganda.

The following concerns the availability of radio facilities in Tunisia.

According to a conservative estimate, there were about 35,000 radio receiving sets in Tunisia on December 15, 1940. The type of set in demand was the 6-or-7 tube superheterodyne, operating on the short-and-medium-wave bands. Sets equipped solely for reception on a frequency of 500 to 1,700 kilocycles have had practically no sale. Shortwave reception is especially popular. During the daytime, best reception is obtained on the 13 and 17 meter bands; during the night, world stations are received with best results on the 19, 25, 31 and 49 meter bands. Reception is better in the winter than in the summer.

As of December 15, 1940, there was one broadcasting station in Tunisia:

Location of studio:	Tunis
Location of transmitter	Djedaida
Wave-length:	345.61 meters
Frequency:	868 kilocycles
Power:	20,000 watts

It was planned to increase the power of this station to 120,000 watts.

It was reported in July, 1942 that there were fairly efficient jamming stations in various places in Tunisia, directed against disturbing British and American transmissions.

10. Anti-Fascist Movement

This movement among the Tunisian Italians, though much less powerful than the Fascist movement and suppressed since the Axis occupation of Tunisia, could be revived in those Tunisian canters now occupied by the armed forces of the United Nations and could be used in stimulating pro-Allied action on the part of those anti-Fascists who are still in Axis-occupied Tunisian territory.

Before the war, there were Italian anti-Fascist groups centering in the "Garibaldi Association", the Tunisian section of the Lega Italiana dei Diritti dell'Uomo (L.I.D.U. - Italian League of the Rights of Man, with central headquarters in Paris), and the Unione Popolare degli Italiani di Tunisia (Popular Union of the Italians of Tunisia).

The anti-Fascist press consisted of 1 daily and 1 weekly.

Il Giornale, the daily, was edited by Giorgio Amendola, probably the son of the distinguished Italian democratic leader in Italy who died in 1926 as a result of injuries inflicted upon him by punitive Fascist squads. The manager of the Giornale

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was G. Lo Cascio.

L'Italiano di Tunisi, the weekly, was the organ of the Tunisian section of the Italian League of the Rights of Man. The manager of the paper was G. Forti.

Both publications sought to promote harmony among persons of French, Italian, and native Tunisian stock.

It has been claimed that anti-Fascists have been threatened and denied employment by Fascist and that an anti-Fascist (Micelli) was assassinated in September 1937 by Italian cadets and sailors who were never brought to trial because of French collusion.

The following persons in Tunisia, most of them of Italian extraction, are likely to be pro-United Nations:

Barresi, Giulio, representative of the Italian League of the Rights of Man

Bensasson, Ferruccio, delegate of the Unione Popolare, was scheduled to speak on July 29, 1939, in Italian, at an Italo-Franco-Tunisian demonstration of friendship, under the auspices of the Unione Popolare.

Boccaa, Ezio

Cabrelli, Antonio, Secretary of the Committee of Franco-Italian Friendship of France. He was scheduled to speak in French at meeting referred to above under Bensasson.

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Cohen-Hadria, Dr., of the Socialist Party

Dejeanne, Director of the Petit Matin (of Tunis)

Djerad, Ali, Secretary of the Communist Party
of Tunisia

Disegni, Gastone

Forti, Enrico

Forti, G.

Gallico, Loris

Levi, Dr. Guido, of the Republican Party

Guttières, Dr.

Lopinto, Vincenzo

Medina, Guido, lawyer, influential Italian Jew

Modigliani

Moreno

Pariente, Carlo, lawyer

Pariente, G.

Scialom, Uccio

Spano, Velio

Valensi, Maurizio, Secretary of the Unione Popolare

Valensi, Dr. Giorgio

Special attention should be directed to the Jews of Tunisia, because they constitute the most powerful block of Italian-speaking persons in Tunisia who are anti-Fascist and pro-United Nations.

There are two main groups of Jews in Tunisia: (1) about

60,000 Jews of non-Italian origin, known as North African Jews or Israelites; (2) about 15,000 Jews of Italian origin, whom we shall call Italian Jews.

The Italian Jews, most of whom came from Livorno, formed the nucleus of the Italian middle class in Tunisia. They held a controlling position in the commercial, banking and professional world of the Italian colony. To all intents and purposes they were regarded as an integral part of the Italian colony until the advent of Fascist anti-semitism in 1938, which resulted for the most part in their alienation from the Italian colony in so far as it was responsive to Fascist influence. The Fascists maintained, among other things, that the Jews were freemasons, liberals, democrats, and internationalists whose point of view was repugnant to Fascist ideals. The alienation of the Italian Jews from the Italian colony was not complete, however, because anti-semitism, in Tunis as in Italy, was not popular among the Italian masses. Although prominent Jews lost their position in Fascist-dominated organizations, such as the Italian Chamber of Commerce, and although many Italian Jews became naturalised Frenchmen in the 1930's there is good reason to believe that the relations between the average Jew and the average Italian have remained cordial.

PART II

SUGGESTIONS

The following suggestions are intended to furnish a basis for the formulation of a plan for psychological warfare or military government with respect to the Tunisian Italians.

The dominant criteria should be to detach them from any support of the Axis and to win them over to practical cooperation with the United Nations.

1. Persuade the Tunisian Italians that we are enemies of Fascism, not of Italy and of the Italian people. Fascism and Italy are not identical. The "Italianity" of the Tunisian Italians is not of recent date and is not an artificial creation of Fascist propaganda. It is deep-rooted and should be respected. It is a constant, and will probably remain so, even if the Tunisian Italians lose faith in Mussolini and Fascism. We should reassure them that we have no intention of preventing them from living an Italian pattern of life, from having their language-schools, etc.

2. Reassure the real Italian colonists -- manual workers, farmers, etc., that there is no intention to threaten their economic position, the fruit of hard labor, and that their interests are not identical with those of Fascist politicians imported from Italy.

3. Tell the Tunisian Italians that, if they cooperate with us, we will not regard them as "outcasts" just as we do not regard Italians in this country as enemy aliens.

4. Convince them that the overwhelming majority of the

10 million Italians abroad -- in the United States, Brazil, etc., are supporting the United Nations and that these Italians have more in common with the people of Italy than the Fascist hierarchy.

5. Study the Italian communities now under our military control (Sfax and Sousse, for example) with a view to obtaining information on the Tunisian Italian community as a whole and to finding agents, etc. who will cooperate with us.

6. Study the Italian community in Algeria (about 50,000 Italians) and in French Morocco (about 15,000) with a view to finding collaborators, particularly among Sicilians and Sardinians.

7. Seek the collaboration of the 15 to 20,000 Italian-speaking Jews in Tunisia, many of whom are in parts of Tunisia now occupied by us.

8. Make as few references as possible to American declarations regarding the "integrity" of the French Empire. Minimize references to traditional friction between Italians and Frenchmen in Tunisia and show that, by cooperating, they will help defeat their common enemy, the Germans. The French and the Italians are united by a common European heritage, and the same religion. It should be pointed out that -- without jeopardy to the war aims and expected achievements of the United Nations and within the framework of the institutions and purposes of the United Nations after occupation -- legal equality will prevail. More than one culture is not impossible under a single sovereignty:

In Canada, for example, a French community has an accepted place in economic and political life. We can safely assume that harmony between the two groups can be found within a non-fascist pattern. If Vichyism had its effect upon some of the French ethnic elements and thereby brought about 'collaboration" with Italian Fascist elements, we might well emphasize the point that true and lasting harmony between the two groups can come only with the absence of Fascist elements from both groups.

9. Convince the Tunisian Italians that they are the tools of a Nazi policy. Show them that the main interest of the Fascist government in Tunisia has been based on the strategic importance of Tunisia, not on the desire to protect the interests of the Tunisian Italians. They have been used as a bargaining point by the Fascist government, which has constantly sacrificed them, their interests, and their *Italianità*.

When Mussolini brought Italy into the war, he was aiming to recreate the Roman Empire on the Mediterranean Sea at the expense of the French North African Empire. Yet when the French armistice with Germany was signed in June 1940, Germany secured the right to occupy a large part of France, while Italy failed to secure the right to occupy any part of the French North African Empire, and no provision was made for the Italian occupation of Tunisia. In short, Hitler was either unwilling or unable to fulfill the Italian aspiration for Tunisia. The armistice terms satisfied his own immediate needs at the expense of Italy's Mediterranean aims. France was permitted to retain her North African Empire, and the Tunisian Italians remained under French rule despite the great victory of the Axis over France.

Hitler's strategy throughout the war has been essentially continental: to achieve world power by completrly eliminating every opposing military power from the Continent. The Mediterranean theater of war -- the primary theater for Italy --- has constantly been neglected and sacrificed in favor of the continental theater. The whole war has been fought in terms of German, not Italian, strategy and aims.

After the collapse of France, and when British power in theMediterranean was weak, Hitler did not re-inforce the Italian armies in Libya. He left it to Italy alone to wage the war against Britain in Egypt, though greater support by Germany might have turned the scale against the British army in Egypt in the winter of 1940-1941. Germany's strategic demands, particularly in Russia, involved, among other things, the failure to support Rommel's great African offensive in 1942. When the British Eighth Army defeated the German-Italian army at Alamein [redacted] in October, 1942, Rommel left to be captured some seven or eight Italian divisions that had been in the front line. It was the remnants of his German forces that Rommel saved by his retreat.

Even after the Axis occupation of Tunisia, Italian interests were sacrificed to German interests. The actual administration of Tunisia under Axis military occupation is a mixture of Vichy French imperialist elements and Tunisian Moslem nationalist elements. It is not an administration by and for the Italian Tunisians. Their interests, aims, and aspirations have been neglected in favor of those of their old enemies and rivals -- the Tunisian French and the Tunisian natives.

The Tunisian French are being courted by the Germans. The Germans have allowed the Vichyite Admiral Esteva to retain an important position in Tunisia, and they are apparently continuing the old French imperialist policy of settling Frenchmen in Tunisia, and building up the preponderance of the French population at the expense of the Italian colony.

Besides encouraging the settling of French war prisoners in Tunisia, the Germans have been giving great encouragement to Arab natives. In December, 1942, shortly after the Axis military occupation of Tunisia, the Germans were "allowing Arabs to pass through their lines from Tunis to spread the glad tidings in our neighborhood that they, the Germans, have opened French warehouses and shops in Tunis to the Arabs, and treating all Arabs well and are

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going to subdivide the large rich farms which the French have produced "among the original inhabitants." It is the natives -- the old rivals and competitors of the Italian farmers -- to whom the lands of the French are promised when Tunisia is under German domination.